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A

DIALOGUE

BETWIXT

Whig and Tory,

Alias *Williamite* and *Jacobite.*

Wherein the PRINCIPLES and PRACTICES of each Party are fairly and impartially ſtated; that thereby Miſtakes and Prejudices may be removed from amongſt us, and all thoſe who prefer Engliſh Liberty, and Proteſtant Religion, to French Slavery and Popery, may be inform'd how to chooſe fit and proper Inſtruments for our Preſervation in theſe Times of Danger.

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To the KING.

SIR,

THO the Sacred Majesty of Kings (I am sensible) ought not in common Cases to be approach'd by every little Busy-body, or frivolous Remonstrance-maker; yet when our Prince's Palace is on Fire, and his Sacred Person in the midst of Flames, the meanest of his Subjects hath the Privilege then to give him warning of his Danger, and to assist to quench the Fire: And this I am afraid, Sir, is at present too near our Case, or I would not have assum'd the Boldness to disturb your Repose, or have plac'd my self so disadvantagiously before your Majesty, as I must expect to appear, under the Character of a Publick Censor of the Manners of your Ministers, and a petty State-Reformer. But it is not I alone that am thus concern'd and busy for the Publick; the whole World are at this time mournfully reflecting upon the miserable Estate we are fallen into from that happy and glorious Prospect of things which we had in 1688 and 1689: This hath put all Men upon Enquiry into the Causes of the unhappy Change of our Affairs; and I find it agreed on all Hands, That the principal occasion of our Misfortunes (or rather Mismanagements) is from the intrusting those with the Government of all, who were the Creatures and Tools of the two last Reigns, and are irreconcileable Enemies to your Majesty's Government; those

who oppoſed your coming to the Crown; thoſe who declar'd to your Face King *James* the only Rightful King; Thoſe who ſold their Country and betray'd it to the two laſt Kings, and will be always ready to ſell it even to the French King, if he prove the faireſt Chapman.

I have heard that *Thurloe*, who was Secretary of State to *Cromwel*, being ask'd by King *Charles* II. how they did ſupport their Government ſo long, when all the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy were againſt it? he replied, *By intruſting thoſe only in the Management of all Affairs, who were as heartily againſt that Nobility, Gentry and Clergy.* I do not apply this literally; for, God be prais'd, your Majeſty hath a great part of all theſe ſeveral degrees of Men, who are moſt heartily and zealouſly in your Intereſts: But I mean by this, that you are to oppoſe your Enemies with their Enemies, not with their Friends. And that the Deſign of keeping out King *James* with Jacobites, ſeems to be as impracticable, as his Project prov'd of ſetting up Popery with a Proteſtant Army.

Yet there are ſome about your Majeſty (who for baſe and private Ends) endeavour to poſſeſs you with the deſtructive Politicks of courting and buying your Enemies into your Service, and would perſwade you, that King *James*'s *Tories* are the only Party truly principled for Monarchy, and are fitteſt for Employment, as being long practis'd in Buſineſs: And that (on the contrary) your Majeſty's beſt Friends, whom they call *Whigs*, are not only ignorant, and unacquainted with Publick Buſineſs, but are Haters of Monarchy, of Commonwealth-Principles; and at beſt, for making their Kings no more than Dukes of *Venice*, and Kings of Clouts. Now this is a Notion ſo falſe, ſo fatal to the Proſperity of your Affairs, and ſo dangerous to the very Being of your Government, that I cannot but think it highly neceſſary, that this Matter ſhould be fairly ſtated and laid before your Majeſty: I am ſenſible how

how unfit I am for the Task, and how open I lie to a Charge of Preſumption in attempting it. But as the Son of *Cyrus*, who was from his Birth dumb, broke Silence when he ſaw his Father in the Hands of his Murderers; ſo (ſince I ſaw no other Champion appear in this Cauſe) I reſolv'd to break through all Impediments, even thoſe of Nature, and to endeavour the Reſcue of my King out of the Hands of thoſe who have already been the Ruin of two Kings, your Majeſty's Predeceſſors, and who will undoubtedly bring you and your Affairs into great Difficulties, if you be not delivered from their Counſels.

In order to this, I have impartially made a Collection (in the following Dialogue) of all the Arguments which *Whigs* employ againſt the *Tories*, or *Tories* againſt the *Whigs*, and ſubmit it to your Majeſty's diſcerning Judgment, and moſt piercing and diſtinguiſhing Wiſdom, (upon the whole) which of them are moſt proper for your Majeſty to employ; thoſe who were in the Intereſts of *Popery* and of *France*, or thoſe who oppos'd both to the Death. I appeal to you, Sir, whether a *Tory*'s being for the Divine Right of Succeſſion, and conſequently for King *James*'s Monarchy, makes him the fitter in Principle to be employ'd by King *William*? Or, whether his boaſted Skill in Buſineſs will be of any uſe to your Majeſty, if he be in Principle and Inclination for K. *James*, and believes K. *William* a King *de facto* only, without a Rightful Title, and in plain Engliſh, an Uſurper? If theſe Gentlemen (as their Principles will naturally lead them to do) uſe all their Skill in their ſeveral Stations, to obſtruct and make difficult your Affairs, to betray your Deſigns to your Enemies, to countenance and protect K. *James*'s Friends in all their Plots and Contrivances, furniſh them with Intelligence, help them to Paſſes, Eſcapes, *&c.* all which things (it cannot be denied) have been and are daily done by ſome Perſons employ'd in this Government: Of what Uſe, Sir, or Service then is this

boaſted Skill in Buſineſs to your Majeſty's Intereſts? Certainly Men leſs converſant in Publick Affairs, who have a Zeal for your Government, would be of more Uſe and Service to you; Men who were perſecuted by K. *C.* and K. *J.* either in their own Perſons, or in the Perſons of their Friends, who were fin'd, impriſon'd, and ſome of their Relations hang'd in thoſe Reigns, are more likely to act in earneſt againſt K. *J.* and in the ſupporting your Majeſty and your Government, than thoſe who had their Fortunes and their Families rais'd by K. *J.* and his Brother K. *C.* and who hope to be rais'd yet more by his Return, or at leaſt, to ſecure in his Government what they have got in this, by obliging him and his Friends, at the Price of ſacrificing you and yours.

For Example: Is it reaſonable to believe the E. of *N.* whoſe Father and Family was rais'd by K. *C.* and K. *J.* for proſtituting the Law (and his nauſeous Rhetorick) to the Deſigns of thoſe two Brothers, who himſelf was a Privy-Counſellor with Father *Peters*, and choſen by K. *J.* at the time of the Revolution to treat with your Majeſty at *Hungerford*, in order to delay your Progreſs to *London*; and laſtly, who ſo violently oppos'd your Majeſty's being crown'd King, as to lay an eternal Obligation on K. *J.* by it: I ſay, Sir, is it reaſonable to believe this Gentleman ſo proper a Secretary of State to your Majeſty, as the E. of *S.* who hath ſo mortally diſobliged K. *J.* by being ſo early, and ſo zealous in your Intereſts, who went at the Head of that Meſſage to K. *J.* wherein he was required to retire from *Whitehall*; who hath ſince that been ſo inſtrumental to place and preſerve the Crown upon your Head; and hath, in a word, broken all Meaſures ſo with K. *J.* as to leave no Poſſibility of a Reconciliation to him, and conſequently hath no Retreat from this Government, but is oblig'd in common Senſe, to ſerve Your Majeſty faithfully and zealouſly?

Or

Or can your Majeſty think Mr. *K.* who (it is generally ſaid) believes himſelf the Son of K. *J.* and it is known by all the World, owes his Fortune to him; who (if we may believe Report) at the time of the Revolution, agreed with Captain *Toſyer*, to carry the Ships he then commanded in the *Straits* to K. *James* in *France*; (had not the common Sailers very rudely oppos'd the Project;) who after this acquitted himſelf ſo ill at *Cadiz*, in letting the *Thoulon* Squadron paſs by him in his ſight, without fighting them; and to conclude, hath made ſo unaccountable a Campagne of it this Summer; can your Majeſty (give me leave to ſay, Sir) think this Gentleman (after all this) fitter to command the Fleet of *England*, than Mr. *R.* whoſe Provocations to K. *J.* are never to be forgiven by him; who was one of the moſt inſtrumental Men in *England* in placing You upon the Throne; who laſt Year gave you the greateſt and moſt glorious Victory that ever was obtain'd by us at Sea; and whoſe Courage, Conduct and Fidelity the Parliament of *England* hath unanimouſly atteſted?

And now, Sir, (if I may preſume ſo far) will Your Majeſty be pleas'd to examine what Honour, what Profit hath accrued to You, or the Nation, by your employing theſe Gentlemen who have of late been at the Head of the Miniſtry. For God's ſake, Sir, caſt up the Account of the laſt four Years Management, and ſee what You have gain'd by changing *VVhigs* for *Tories*; Have not Your Affairs gone backward both at Home and Abroad? Have not Miſmanagements been multiply'd? Have You not cool'd Your Friends, and yet not gain'd your Enemies? Do not almoſt all the *Tories* You employ drink K. *James*'s Health in Your Wine, and ſerve Him in Your Offices? Do they not obſtruct all Buſineſs which ought to be diſpatch'd, and diſpatch all Buſineſs which ought to be obſtructed? browbeat Your Friends, and delay them in their moſt

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juſt Pretences, but comply with your Enemies in their moſt unreaſonable Demands; nay, connive at their Cabals and Conſpiracies, and ſnatch them out of the Hands of Juſtice, when the Law hath paſs'd Sentence of Death upon them for their Treaſons? Would not ſuch Miniſters and Friends as theſe be leſs dangerous to You, when profeſs'd Enemies, nay in Arms againſt You in the Field, than in your Council, Cabinet and Offices? Undoubtedly they would.

But I know the common Anſwer to all theſe kind of Complaints is, That it is more eaſy to find Faults than Remedies. If You pleaſe therefore, Sir, we will conſider of Remedies, and I think there may be ſome found out both eaſy and certain, and they are theſe: Firſt, Sir, be pleaſed to remove from your Perſon, Council and Offices of Truſt, Men bred up and confirm'd in Principles deſtructive to our Engliſh Government, and hateful to Your People; and to diſcountenance all State-Projectors, and Mountebank-Miniſters, who make Wounds in the State to recommend their Balſam: Throw out, Sir, theſe *Achans* to be ſton'd by the People, who will otherwiſe (I fear) prevent God's Favour to You; who blaſt Your Succeſs Abroad, and rob You of the Affections of Your Subjects at Home, with their *Accurſed Thing*, I mean that Tinſel Power with which theſe Miſcreants dazle the Eyes of Princes, and lead them out of the right way; God is diſpleaſed with it: For uncontroulable and unaccountable Power is the Right and Attribute of God alone; and (as the Scripture tells us) *He will not give his Glory unto another*; nor ſuffer thoſe to act *as Gods*, who are to *die like Men*. Your People alſo will be diſpleaſed with a Deſpotick Power; for the Kings of *England* are bound by Laws, by Mutual Compacts, *&c.* (as You your Self, Sir, have ſet forth moſt unanſwerably in your Declaration when You came over;) and if theſe are broken, Engliſh-Men, who believe themſelves Subjects to the Crown of *England*,

England, (as by Law eſtabliſh'd) and not Slaves to any particular Perſon*; they become impatient, angry, and at length perhaps unreaſonable. And whenever they ſee their King beſet with Miniſters of Lawleſs Principles, (thoſe wholeſale Merchants of Arbitrary Power) they grow miſtruſtful and uneaſy, and are apt in ſuch Caſes to ſhut their Purſes, and open their Mouths. And give me leave to ſay, Sir, had not the People been made apprehenſive and jealous, by ſeeing theſe Men in the Miniſtry, whoſe miſchievous Methods they were ſo well acquainted with, and did ſo much abhor; no general Exciſe, no Loans, no Powers would have been thought by the People of *England*, too much to have intruſted You with; ſo highly they eſteem'd your Generous Relief of them, your unequal Courage, and the many other admirable Vertues they ſaw ſhine in You. An Engliſh King is the greateſt Monarch upon Earth, when he reigns in the Hearts of his Subjects; and all other Methods to Power and Greatneſs have been found ineffectual in *England*. I remember I once ſaw written over a Mercer's Shop, **Keep thy Shop, and thy Shop will keep Thee**: and tho it be a homely Alluſion, it is very applicable to the preſent Point; *Keep your Laws, Sir, and your Laws will keep You*; ſupport your People in their Rights and Liberties, and Queen *Elizabeth* ſhall paſs her Royal Word for them, they will ſupport Your juſt Prerogative at Home, and Your Honour Abroad. And, Sir, by the way, do not let Your Flatterers give You a cheap Opinion of a Power deriv'd from the People; for it is undoubtedly from their Conſent, that all Power muſt come: Nor let them make You uneaſy that Your Title to the Crown is from the univerſal free Choice of the Commons of *England*: Believe me, Your Miniſters, nor the two Learned Biſhops who have ſcribled upon this Subject, will never be able to find You a better.

* Otherwiſe K. *J.* would have a fairer Pretence, than I hope we ſhall ever allow him.

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In the next place, Diſcharge all *Jacobites* and *Trimmers* from Offices of Truſt: For ſuch as either deſire K. *James*, or from their Fear, or Wiſdom, endeavour to deſerve from him (ſo much as their Pardon) I humbly conceive are unfit for Your Service at this Juncture; tho when the Government is more ſettled, I am for entertaining all who give Proofs of their Penitence for their paſt Actions and Opinions.

But, Sir, Purgatives will not alone perfect the Cure of your Government, and reſtore it to perfect Health; You muſt make uſe of Alteratives too, there muſt be a Change of Meaſures, as well as a Diſcharge of Men: And the Method I would humbly offer is this.

Firſt; To make the Intereſt of *England* your chief Deſign and Aim; and ſince You are an *Engliſh* King, to become entirely an *Engliſh* Man. *England* is a Nation jealous of Rivals in her Prince's Favour, and thinks her ſelf deſerving of all his Care, and all his Careſſes: If the People of *England* think You have a favourable Opinion of them, they will endeavour to deſerve it; if not, they may perhaps deſerve your worſt Opinion too. This Humour of the Nation Queen *Elizabeth* found early, and apply'd her ſelf ſo happily to it, as by this ſingle Point to maſter all her Difficulties, (the greateſt it may be that ever Prince had to ſtruggle with); whereas her Succeſſors, by contrary Meaſures, brought themſelves into very unfortunate Circumſtances.

In the next place, Sir, let me deſire You to avoid concerning your Self in Elections of Members in Parliament, or influencing them when choſen: the Parliament is a ſacred part of the Engliſh Conſtitution, and, like the *Iſraelites* Ark of old, is not to be touch'd profanely, but with great Danger to thoſe who touch it ſo. And therefore, Sir, it will be your true Intereſt to leave the People free to their Choice, and to leave the Members free to their Opinions

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when they are choſen. It is ſtill freſh in our Memories, how much the Practices of the late Reigns in corrupting Elections, and Cloſeting the Members of Parliament, enrag'd the Nation, and they had reaſon to reſent it; for if (for the ſake of a Vote) a Member of Parliament ſhall be placed in an Office of Truſt he is not fit for, this is deſtroying the Government two ways at once: For, to ſpeak in the Phraſe of the Miniſtry, it is making a Parliament of Clouts, and an Officer of Clouts at the ſame ſtroke. Rejecting Bills offer'd by Parliament of publick Benefit, and for the ſecuring of our Antient Government, and the Fundamental Rights of the Subject, was highly diſpleaſing to the Nation alſo in the late Reigns, and will be ſo in all Reigns: As was likewiſe the denying the People their undoubted Right of frequent Parliaments. They had alſo in the late Governments an Invention to make a Pump of the Parliament, and by pouring in a Pint of Water, to fetch out a Tun: This was juſtly moſt provoking to the Nation, and treaſur'd up Wrath againſt the Day of Wrath.

The refuſing of Bills, and the Contempt of Addreſſes from the Parliament againſt Miniſters, or in any other caſes, hath likewiſe given great Offence in former Reigns. For tho the Houſe of Commons, ſeconded by the Houſe of Lords, cannot reach the Life or Eſtate of any Perſon, but by a full Proof in form of Law; yet becauſe it is ſo difficult a matter to come at ſuch a Proof, a Vote of the Houſe of Commons againſt any Miniſter, hath always been eſteem'd by all Kings (who were well with the People) a ſufficient Reaſon for the removing them from Court; and I have heard that our King *Henry* the Fourth (a Warlike and a Wiſe Prince) upon an Addreſs from the Parliament againſt ſome of his Miniſters, reply'd, *I know no Evil by theſe Men, but if they are thought unfit by my Parliament for my Service, I ſhall not think fit to continue them in it.*

All theſe things, Sir, therefore are moſt carefully to be

avoided by your Majeſty: They will appear with a worſe Grace in You, who have declar'd and made War againſt theſe Practices, than in your Predeceſſors: For as St. *Paul* ſays, *Thou who haſt ſaid, Ye ſhall not commit Adultery, doſt thou commit Adultery? Thou who haſt ſaid, Ye ſhall not ſteal, doſt thou ſteal?* You muſt by no means, Sir, give this occaſion of Clamour and Recrimination to your Enemies. But be pleas'd to follow this General Rule, always to beware of the Miniſters, and to avoid the Schemes and Counſels of K. *Charles* and K. *James*'s Government, and then You can ſcarce err: For whatever is oppoſite to their Principles and Practices, is the direct Road to your Security and Succeſs.

In the next place, Sir, let Rewards and Puniſhments be duly and impartially diſtributed; this is a Rule to which all Ages and Governments have paid the greateſt Reſpect and Obſervance; and to which the preſent Monarch of *France* does chiefly owe the Proſperity of his Affairs: and without this Principle no Government can ſubſiſt. Your Miniſters who ſerve You well and faithfully, muſt be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe who betray You, or ſerve You careleſly and idely; and not ſmil'd or frown'd upon as they are ſupported or perſecuted by this or that Party or Faction. (And by the way, Sir, a Prince in *England* that rules according to the Laws and Intereſts of his People, will never have occaſion to make his Court to any Party or Faction; nor can any Miniſter of any Party ſerve You againſt the Intereſt of the Nation.) Let your Souldiers be encourag'd, and preferr'd according to their Bravery and Abilities, without Favour or Affection: The Braveſt otherwiſe will follow the Example of Cowards, if they find they have no Advantage over them by their Courage: For *all Men would be Cowards if they dar'ſt*. To an Engliſh Souldier a Smile or a kind Word, is as acceptable at ſome times as a Month's Pay; and if you will condeſcend to a Commendation of

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what they do well, they will endeavour in the next occasion to exceed what they did before; For if You are once Master of their Love, You are sure to have the Disposal of their Lives. Nor need You fear to punish them severely, provided You reward them bountifully. Let the Insolence of your Enemies be rebuk'd, and Rebels and Traitors to your Government be severely punish'd, and not courted and caress'd; for in the present State of Affairs all Mercy to your Enemies is Cruelty to your Self and Friends: and it encourages your Enemies, and disheartens your Loyal Subjects, to see these Insolents brave the Government unpunish'd, and to see your treacherous Ministers soliciting the Pardon of every condemn'd Traitor; and making their Court to K. *J.* at the Price of your Safety, is most provoking to every good Man. Besides, it looks like your having a Doubt of your own Right and Title to the Government, to be thus backward in asserting it; and is so interpreted by the *Jacobites*.

Intelligence is another Point of mighty Consequence, and can scarce be purchas'd too dear: For it is the Soul of Government, and directs all its Actions properly, and without it You consult in the dark, and execute blindfold. You know not what to act, what to fear, where to attack, or where to defend: I do not mean by this that we are to penetrate into the *French* King's Counsels, or rifle his Cabinet, that I am afraid is out of the reach of our Power, and of our Purse; But I cannot but think we may be able to know the Marches of their Armies, and the Motions of their Fleets, without selling our Souls to the Devil for Intelligence, or breaking our Exchequer.

Thus, Sir, I have set before Your Majesty, what, in my poor Judgment, is for your Interest to pursue, and what is for your Service to avoid; what will make your Majesty and this Nation happy, what will make both unhappy: and I heartily pray the Great, Good and Wise God, to direct, bless

and

and prosper your Majesty in all your Glorious Designs for the Defence of these Kingdoms, and of *Christendom* against the common Enemy. If I have us'd too great a Freedom, or have offended in what I design'd for your Service, I am sorry for it: I call God to witness, my Plainness proceeded from my Zeal and Affection to your Interests, and the Prosperity of your Affairs, and not from any factious, saucy, or unmannerly Principle. I wish some abler Pen had taken upon them this Part. But I must own, it provok'd me to see my Country and my King so forsaken; the one of Advocates, the other of honest Counsel; and this urg'd me to take upon me those two Characters, of Advocate and Adviser, both which I confess my self very unfit for: Not, but that as I said in the beginning, I take it to be the Privilege, nay and the Duty too of every English Subject, (provided it be perform'd with a decent and due Respect) to lay before the King such Matters as may be dangerous to his Person or Government, to be conceal'd from his Knowledg: (for we are not ty'd up in *England* to *Spanish* Forms, where the King must be wet to the Skin, if he whose proper Office it is be not in the way to put on his Cloak.) And I beg your Majesty to believe what I have said is from a Faithfulness and Sincerity, which will in all Accidents and Difficulties preserve me unalterably,

Your Majesty's most Loyal, most
Dutiful, and most Obedient Subject.

To

To the Honeſt Engliſh Proteſtant

READER.

Honeſt Reader;

AT the beginning of the late Revolution, I dare ſay, it was not expected by thee or me, That it would have been neceſſary in this Reign, to have enter'd into Argument, whether the Principles of Whig *or* Tory *are moſt agreeable to the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Monarchy; or which Party were to be choſen for the Support of our preſent King and Queen. But ſuch is our Fate, that I am afraid it requires an abler Pen than mine to convince ſome, who it is highly neceſſary ſhould be convinc'd, that any of the Meaſures of the late Reigns were miſtaken: they are taught to believe thoſe Monarchs in the Right; nay, even thoſe evil Counſellors too, which were ſo maul'd in the Declaration of* 88; *and none are Rogues and Villains, and deſerve to be hang'd, but thoſe who were moſt active in the bringing the preſent King and Queen over, and in ſetting the Crown upon their Heads. I thought it therefore high time that this Matter ſhould be ſet right; and in order to it, that the Principles and Practices of* Whig *and* Tory *ſhould be truly and impartially examin'd; which I have endeavoured to do to the beſt of my Knowledg, and ſhall be well pleaſed to ſee any other do it better from my poor Hint. I acknowledg the Looſeneſs of the Style, the want of Method in the following Paper, and the many Repetitions this Dialogue-way of writing is liable to, will lay it open to the Laſh of every Pedant, and School-maſter: But know, I write not for Fame, or out of any Vanity of being an Author:* And therefore I come not to you, *as the*

Apoſtle

Apoſtle ſays, in the enticing words of Man's Wiſdom, but in Plainneſs and in Truth, *&c. I have ſtated the Matter ſo fairly, that ſome of the* Tories *may be Fools enough perhaps to think I have given them a Victory, (and triumph as their Admirals did in their being gazetted, becauſe the Council was ſo favourable, as to ſuffer them to paſs for miſtaken Blockheads, inſtead of wilful knaviſh Liars.) But indeed I thought the* Tories *had ſo weak a Plea, that I might well allow them to make the moſt of it, and have left nothing unſaid which I have ever heard them ſay in their Defence. What they have done the honeſt People, and the Intereſt of* England *moſt Miſchief by, is that Sham of a* Commonwealth, *which I have in the following Diſcourſe (I hope) convinc'd all honeſt Men is a falſe Notion, impracticable and impoſſible in* England; *however this is the Breaſt-work which they have always cover'd themſelves with, when they deſigned to fire upon the Rights and Privileges, the Laws, Liberties and Properties of their Country: And whenever they do raiſe this Breaſt-work, we muſt endeavour to beat it about their Ears; I am ſure it is too weak to reſiſt any Attack, and I hope (as* Bays *ſay)* They fly, They fly, They fly, who firſt did make that Lie. *What I have here written, is with an honeſt Deſign of doing Service to my Country; and if it either happens to inform or convince any, to embrace the Publick Intereſt, and the common Good of themſelves and Fellow-Creatures, I have my end. And for the* Tory Criticks, *they may bite till their Teeth meet through my Book, yet I ſhall be as inſenſible of their Malice, as they have been of the King's Mercy, Favour and Friendſhip to them. I will comfort my ſelf, honeſt Reader, that I have thee on my ſide; and ſo long as thou doſt continue firm in the ſupporting the Engliſh Laws and Liberties, thou doſt build upon a Rock, againſt which, I hope, the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail; and ſo long I will build upon thee, and hope for all Good from thee, and pray for all Bleſſings upon thee.* Adieu.

A DIALOGUE *between* Whig *and* Tory, *&c.*

Tory. WEll met old Acquaintance; Who would have thought ſeven Years ago, to have ſeen you and I at *White-hall* together in the ſame Intereſt?

Whig. In the ſame Intereſt; Why, who thinks that now?

Tory. What, in one of your old peeviſh Fits? I thought now all things go to your Mind, you would have been in better Humour.

Whig. You were begotten, born and bred in Miſtakes, and I doubt not but you will continue ſo to your end: Yet you cannot be ſo groſly miſtaken ſure as to think all things go to any honeſt Engliſhman's Mind; when you, who were the Tools of the two laſt Reigns, the Inſtruments of all our paſt and preſent Misfortunes, and the declar'd Cauſe of the War which brought on the late Revolution, are notwithſtanding the only Men courted by this Government.

Tory. I am afraid you will never be pleaſed with any Monarchical Government.

Whig. That is a Point I know you have been long endeavouring to put upon the World, but more induſtriouſly upon the Court; yet I wonder at your Impudence of urging it now, ſince it is ſo freſh in every Man's Memory, how zealouſly the Whigs ſtruggled in the late Convention to ſettle the Monarchy, whilſt you conteſted as zealouſly to make it an Anarchy.

Tory. We will talk more of this by and by: But if you were ſo inſtrumental as you ſay in ſetting up this Government, why are you ſo out of Humour with what you have made your ſelves?

Whig. Diſappointment you muſt allow a juſt Cauſe of Reſentment: We hop'd from new Lords new Laws, new Miniſters,

and new Methods: But if ſtill we are to have the ſame Miniſters, and conſequently the ſame Methods, the very Tools of the two laſt Reigns, and conſequently the ſame Work; this I take (in my Lord *H*——s Phraſe) to be a Change, without an Alteration; and, in my Opinion, gives too juſt occaſion of Diſlike: and I cannot but think this way of managing Affairs, muſt end unhappily, both to Prince and People.

Tory. But how come you and I to be ſo concern'd either for the Proſperity of Princes, who never think of us, but as we can ſerve ſome preſent Turn of theirs; or for the Intereſt of *Mob*, who will ſing Ballads upon us under the Gallows, when we are hanging there for their ſakes? Prethee *Whig*, grow wiſe, and do not torment thy ſelf thus with State-Affairs; let Princes take Care of themſelves, and the People of themſelves, and let us take Care of our ſelves. My Method is, to get what I can, and let Courts do what they will.

Whig. Why then, Sir, with your good leave, your Method is as fooliſh, as it is knaviſh: For whoever ſells his Country to a Lawleſs Power, leaves himſelf nor his Family no Certainty, no Property in what he hath gotten by his Treachery; Nay, his Eſtate is as often the Snare, as the Comfort of his Life. It proves ſometimes a *Naboth*'s Vineyard, and makes him the Eyeſore of ſome hungry Court-Favourite. And I would ask, Whether a ſmall Eſtate fenc'd about with Laws, and the Poſſeſſion thereof ſecur'd to you and your Family, is not of more Value, than a much greater Revenue, of which you cannot aſſure your ſelf the Poſſeſſion one Minute? Your Fore-fathers thought the Laws and Liberties of *England* worth their Care and Conteſt, and waded through Rivers of Blood to leave them in force to their Poſterity. And the Church once made it an Article of their Religion, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari:* But thou doſt renounce all the Principles of Humanity, of common Senſe, and of Religion; and oughtſt to be driven out of a Country which thou makeſt open Profeſſion to ſell, and betray. And as for what you ſay of the Ingratitude of Princes, and People, the one to his faithful and affectionate Subjects, the other to their zealous Patriots; this does not diſcharge you from your Duty to either. But (in Anſwer to the firſt) if you will ſerve Princes no farther than you ſerve your Country in ſerving them; that Service will always reward it ſelf: and for the *Mob*, as you are ever pleas'd

moſt

moſt mannerly to call your Country-men, and Fellow-Citizens; if any prove ſo fordid as you alledge, I ſhall anſwer you in the words of our Saviour, *Forgive them, for they know not what they do:* And let his Example teach you better Principles, who, notwithſtanding all the Scoffs and Indignities he met with, laid down his Life upon the Croſs for the Benefit of Mankind. But your Principles make you the Triumph of Heathens, and bring you upon the ſame foot with Brute Beaſts.

Tory. Come, don't tell us Stories of our great Grandſires, who troubled themſelves about Trifles: There is a Faſhion in Government (as well as in Clothes) which muſt be comply'd with, according to the Humour of the preſent Age; and you may as well pretend to ſhape all Gowns by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Fardingale, as to ſhape our Court, or Counſels according to the Sentiments of that, or other times, which were as different too from one another, as we are different from them.

Whig. As for your Faſhion of Government, Mr. *Tory*, I hope it is either gone to the Grave with K. *C.* or to *France* with K. *J.* and could heartily wiſh you would follow it to either places: But pray before you go, let me ask you in what Age or Time it was, That Men of Senſe, or Men of Honour, did prefer Will and Pleaſure to Laws, or Slavery to Freedom? As I take it, the Principles of Liberty and Property, have always been in Faſhion amongſt Men of Senſe, and Eſtates in *England*, and ever will be. But your Principles can never find Profeſſors, but amongſt Fools and Beggars.

Tory. Whatever our Principles are, you find both them and us preferr'd to you and yours, even by a Government of your own chooſing: And let that ſatisfy you as an Anſwer to that Point.

Whig. Not at all; that only proves a Miſtake ſome where: And where the Miſtake is, if you pleaſe, we will enquire; and I think it will beſt appear by examining the original Riſe, Principles and Practices of both Parties.

Tory. Come on then, a clear Stage, and no Favour.

Whig. As for your original Riſe, 'tis certain, you owe your being known in the World, to the horrid and execrable Deſigns of the two late Kings to ſet up Arbitrary Power and Popery amongſt us: then were all the Jails, Brothels, and Kennels raked for Villains of ſear'd Conſciences and deſperate Fortunes; your

Arl——ns, *Clif——ds*, *Of——s*, were then thought upon for Miniſters of State; and under them were bred ſuch a pack of Wretches, as the Court of *Tiberius* would have been aſham'd of. In the Law they were of the ſame ſort with the Miniſtry: What Age can parallel your *N——ms*, your *N——ths*, yoor *Jeff——ys*, *Se——gs*, *Rain——ds*, *Wri——s*, &c. and their under Managers *Gra——m* and *Burt——n*, &c. Then as to the Pillars of what they then called *the Church of England*, tho ſo diſguiſed at that time, that it was ſcarce known by its moſt dutiful, moſt affectionate, and moſt pious Children; I need ſay no more of them, than that they were compoſed of Biſhops, and a Clergy preferr'd by two Kings, who were about to ſet up *Popery* and *Tyranny:* And therefore were to chooſe ſuch Men into the Government of the Church, who they thought would be moſt complying with thoſe Purpoſes, and whoſe Looſeneſs of Morals might bring moſt Diſcredit upon the Proteſtant Religion: and whoever remembers *Park——r*, *Cart——t*, or knows *Cr——w*, and *Wat——n*, will (I think) be of the Opinion they were not ill choſen for the aboveſaid Purpoſes.

Tory. But you ſee whatever Purpoſes they were choſen for, ſeveral of the Biſhops *oppoſed Popery* with the greateſt Bravery imaginable.

Whig. True, they did oppoſe a Popiſh Clergy being brought into their Biſhopricks, Churches and Colleges; and who but a mad Man would have expected any other from them? But did they ever ſtick at any thing that might advance Arbitrary Power over the Laity? Did they not conjure the People to Paſſive Obedience, Non-reſiſtance? *&c.* Did they not tie us Hand and Foot, and throw us like *Daniel* into the Lions Den? Nay, did they ever ſtick at building his Popiſh Church for him, whilſt he contented himſelf to make uſe of their Hands? But when they ſaw that after they had gone ſo far in the Service, others were taken in to finiſh the Work, and to reap the Fruit of what they had ſow'd and planted: This was indeed intolerable, and then it was, and not before, that they begun to make a Noiſe about the *Proteſtant Religion*, and *Engliſh Liberties*, and to preach backward all their former Sermons.

Tory. But you cannot deny but that they were very inſtrumental to the Revolution.

Whig.

Whig. I own they were for ſome time, like Fiſhes who have got a Worm in their Heads, they did friſk and leap out of their own Element; but like them too, they ſoon plung'd into it again: for K. *J.* was ſcarce got to *Feverſham*, before they repented what they had done, and from that day to this have given all the Proofs and Marks of an invincible Hatred and Enmity to the preſent Government: They oppoſed the King's coming to the Crown, fell into Cabals for the weakning his Government when he was King, and raiſed Rebellion without, and Plots within the Kingdom for the reſtoring of K. *J. &c.* Nay, at this time it is undeniable, that whenever the Clergy are moſt numerous, the Jacobites are moſt numerous too; there are more Jacobites ten for one in every Cathedral Town, than in any other Towns, accounting number for number: And how the Univerſities are generally diſaffected to this Goverment, is notorious; they reproach and rail againſt the very Biſhops and Clergy-men preferr'd in this Reign. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf, whoſe Learning, Piety, and Excellencies of all kinds, are ſo eminent, that it ſeems impolitick in them, as well as unjuſt to reproach him, yet him too do they rail, ſcoff at, and treat with the fouleſt Invectives. In ſhort, thoſe who every day piouſly attend the Service and Religious Worſhip of the Church, who moſt frequently are Communicants in the holy Sacrament, theſe they will notwithſtanding call *Presbyterians*, *canting*, *whining Hypocrites*, &c. and eſteem none ſound Members of their Body, but thoſe who drink with them, and come up to all their higheſt Points of Dominion, Tyranny, and Uncharitableneſs to all thoſe who are not of their Faction: I will not call it their Church, becauſe I think it a Diſhonour to the beſt Reform'd Church in the World, to be ſerved by ſuch a Clergy as are not only a Scandal to the Name of *Proteſtant*, but to the Name of *Religion*; and who, under the Title of *Proteſtant Prieſts*, are labouring with all their Power the *Return of K. James*, with his *Popery* and *Slavery*, and preach and pray openly for his Reſtoration, whilſt no Exhortation for Obedience to our preſent King, our great Deliverer from Popery and Slavery, is heard from any Pulpit, no *Paſſive Obedience* nor *Non-reſiſtance* is named in this Reign: And if for the ſake of their Livings they are forced to pray for the King and Queen, it is in ſo faint and low a Voice, as if they had no mind to be heard either by God or the People.

Tory.

Tory. Some few diſcontented Perſons there may be perhaps, who may deſerve this Character, but I hope you do not lay this Charge upon the whole Clergy of *England.*

Whig. No, I know there are many religious, learned and good Men amongſt them; and there will I hope be more if this Government continues: But that the number is not ſmall who have refus'd the Oaths to this preſent Government, you cannot deny; and that moſt of the *high Church*, as they call themſelves, thoſe who (as a Learned Doctor ſaid) have the *Spirit of the Church* in which they were bred, tho they will not ſay with St. *Paul*, they have the *Spirit of God* *. Moſt of this Order, I ſay, profeſs to take the Oath of Allegiance to this King, as he is King *de facto*, not *de jure.* And by the Example of theſe Reverend Clergy-men, the Lay Knaves and Fools are directed to take Oaths with Mental Reſervations, and private Interpretations and Diſtinctions. And having no Principle, but that of Self-Intereſt, in which caſe you ever renounce all Juſtice, all Humanity to your Fellow-Creatures; you profeſs Slavery to ſome, that you may Lord it over others; yea renounce and trample upon all Laws to ſerve a Turn, make a Jeſt of Liberty and Property: And to gratify your Pride or Avarice, you have betray'd your Country, perſecuted and murdered your innocent Country-men and Fellow-Citizens, ſold your Neighbours to the French King, and your Laws and Religion to the late Kings; and even from the ſame Principles have been endeavouring to bring about the ſame Practices in this Reign too; and in order to it, have been tempting your Lord and Maſter, in the Language of the Devil to our Saviour, *All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worſhip me*; and I hope he will anſwer you in his words upon that occaſion, *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy King.* Thus have I given you in few Lines an account of the Riſe, Principles and Practices of your Party, with which I could fill up a Volume: But I conſider the Nation needs only a general Hint to refreſh their Memory to Particulars. For the Smart of the Wounds received in the late Reigns from you, is yet moſt ſenſible to many honeſt Engliſhmen.

* The firſt Inſtance I have met of their Modeſty.

Tory. If this Devil of a *Tory* be ſo black as you paint him, I wonder how he comes by ſo fair a Character, and ſo numerous a Party in the Nation, and ſo great a Countenance from all Courts of contrary Intereſts.

Whig.

Whig. Fair Appearances, and great Numbers prove nothing; the lewdeſt Strumpets are often fair, and Fools and Knaves have in all Ages out-numbred the Wiſe and Honeſt. How ye *Tories* came to have ſo great a Countenance from the laſt Court, I have already ſhew'd, and will (ſince you command me) ſhew you how ye became the Favourites of this Court too, even by the ſame Means, and the ſame Man, that made you Favourites in King *Charles*'s Time. For the M. of *C.* after all his miſchievous Management of Affairs in that Reign, having by an ill Fate to this poor Nation, got into ſome ſmall pretence of Merit, by little Aſſiſtances he gave to the late Revolution; upon this he ſets up again for Miniſtry. But being apprehenſive that thoſe honeſt Gentlemen, who had ſo bravely expoſed their Lives and Fortunes for the Redemption of their Country, and were ſo well acquainted with his Methods in the late Reigns, would be jealous of his having too great a Credit with the King, he thought it his beſt play to begin with them; and from his firſt coming to Court, labour'd to inſinuate Jealouſies into the King of thoſe Gentlemen as *Commonwealths-men*, *Haters of Monarchy*, &c. and having likewiſe an implacable Pique to Parliaments, for their Impeachment and Impriſonment of him, he at the ſame time repreſents that part of the Government envious of the King's Power, and always endeavouring to make him a King of Clouts, a Duke of *Venice*, &c. Thus by miſrepreſenting the King's beſt Friends, he made way to bring in his old Practices, and his old working Tools (whom he repreſented to be Men of Buſineſs, and Friends to Monarchy) into this Court too; and being aſſiſted afterwards by the E. of *N.* and ſome others, ye have indeed carried all before you; and how much to the Intereſt of the Nation, and the Honour of the King, let all the World judg, who have ſeen this poor Kingdom every Year for this laſt four Years brought to a reaſonable Apprehenſion of being invaded from Abroad, betray'd at Home; and in a word, to ſubſiſt only by a Miracle.

Tory. All this rambling Story you have told is a wild Suppoſition, and ſtraining the Intention of this noble Lord to your own malicious Purpoſe, who deſign'd nothing more in bringing in theſe Gentlemen you call the King's Enemies, than by reconciling them to the King and his Government, to make the Foundation of it broader and deeper: And I know not how this comes to be ſuch a Crime, and ſo ill Policy with us. I have heard, that

Henry,

Henry the Fourth of *France*, who was eſteem'd a wiſe and Politick Prince, thought it very good King-Craft, to careſs his Enemies of the League, and to make his Court to the Jeſuits.

Whig. And pray, what did he get by it? Did he ever gain either of them heartily into his Intereſt? Were not thoſe of the League ever ready to plot with the *Spaniard*, &c. againſt him? And for his dear Friends of the Church, not all his Renunciation of his old Religion, and his old Friends; not all his Gifts, his Careſſes, and his Courtſhip could reconcile them to him, or ſo much as ſave his Life, when they had it in their Power to deſtroy it. For thoſe jealous Gentlemen, the *Jeſuits*, never would believe they had his Heart, till it was ſent them in a Box to *Le* * *Fleche*, to be buried there.

* A College of Jeſuits in that place.

Tory. But notwithſtanding your *Jeſuits Tale of a Tub*, I will undertake that all the *Tories* (as you call them) in *England*, both Clergy and Lay-men, ſhall take the Oaths to the King, and ſerve him heartily, provided he will do one thing.

Whig. What's that?

Tory. Utterly diſcard you *Whigs*, and give us the Penal Laws again upon the Fanaticks.

Whig. And would that make the Foundation of the Government broader and deeper, as you talk'd juſt now? Beſides, have you not heard a Story of one *Sampſon*, Sir, who after he had reſign'd his Lock of Hair in which his Strength lay, was delivered up to his Enemies by thoſe he had truſted? But ſuppoſing what you propoſe (if granted) might win you to be *Williamites*, were King *James* dead, yet I am miſtaken, if whilſt he lives, and the King of *France* continues as powerful as at preſent, you will ever be drawn by any Courtſhip, to engage ſo far in the Intereſts of this Government, as to ſwear otherwiſe to the King than as King *de facto*, nor will you make your Reconciliation to King *James* deſperate. Anſwer to this Point plainly and truly.

Tory. Wiſe Men will always ſecure a Retreat; and Self-preſervation is a firſt Principle with all Men. And as a Gentleman ſaid wittily upon this occaſion, As long as the Government can maintain it ſelf, and will maintain me, it is ſure of me: But I have liv'd too long at Court to die a Martyr for any Monarch, and will always behave my ſelf ſo in one Court, as to be well with the next. And tho perhaps this is not all that this Government might reaſonably wiſh from us, yet I can tell you they do not believe

believe that they ſhall mend themſelves, by changing us for you, for divers and ſundry Reaſons.

Whig. Pray let us have ſome of them.

Tory. Firſt, becauſe you are for a Commonwealth-Government, and Haters of Monarchy.

Whig. That is, that we are mad Men, and void of all common Senſe and Reaſon: for whoever hath either of theſe, will know a Commonwealth, a *Chymera* impracticable, and impoſſible to be brought about in *England.* If *Machiavel* be of any Authority, he ſays in his 55*th* Chapter upon Government, "That where there "is not an Equality in the Conditions and Eſtates of a People, "it is impoſſible for that People or Nation to erect and ſettle a "Commonweath. He gives you Examples to confirm this, but I think there are ſome more to our purpoſe, as being more recent and nearer home. Upon the Revolt of the *Low-Countries* from the *Spaniſh* Yoke, it was neceſſary for them to put themſelves under ſome Form of Government; and the Form being in their own free Choice, ſeven of the ſeventeen Provinces, who were a Trading ſort of People, much upon an Equality in their Condition and Fortune, and had few Families of Nobility or Gentry among them, fell naturally into a Commonwealth-Government: But the other ten Provinces, having great numbers of Nobility and Gentry, tho they were more immediately under the Tyranny of the *Spaniard*, and had been more particularly ſenſible of *D'alva*'s Cruelty and Oppreſſion, notwithſtanding choſe rather to continue under the hated Government of *Spain*, than to accept of the Invitation the other ſeven Provinces had made them of coming into the more hated Project of a *Commonwealth:* ſo impoſſible it is to reconcile Men diſtinguiſhed by Titles and Fortunes, to mix themſelves in a common Level with the People upon any Conſideration or Diſguſt whatſoever. And whoever will look over what paſſed here in *England* from the Year 1648, to the Year 1660, will be yet more convinc'd of the Truth of this Aſſertion, and of the Nonſenſe of any Commonwealth-Deſign in this Nation: Perhaps there was never at any time ſo many Men of ſtrong Inclinations for a Commonwealth-Government as then, nor of greater Abilities to effect ſuch a Deſign: And yet they found the Nobility, Gentry and Dignified Clergy ſuch a Rub in their way, as no Art, no Force could remove: and at laſt they were brought into that Confuſion and Diſorder by

attempting it, that the very People and Army who were in this Project of a Commonwealth, and had overthrown the Monarchy in order to it, and could ſupport *Cromwell* in a ſingle Perſon, yet after his Death ſaw a neceſſity of reſtoring the Monarchy again, and aſſiſted towards it. But this was the Duſt which the two laſt Courts threw into the Peoples Eyes when they would make them blind to Arbitrary Power and Popery: And is now one great Artifice the *Jacobites* depend upon, whereby to ſeparate the Friends of this Government from its Support; tho it will always be a Jeſt to underſtanding Men. I have heard a Story of a Lady, who paſſing through a Crowd to her Coach, and having a rich Jewel on her Breaſt, cover'd the Jewel with one of her Hands; which a Pick-pocket in the Crowd obſerving, ſteps up to her, and claps his Hand upon a Place below, which he thought would oblige her to remove her Hand from her Breaſt, to defend it: But the Lady apprehending the Thief's Deſign, very prudently neglected the falſe Attack, and apply'd both her Hands to the ſecuring her Jewel, and by that means came off ſafe. And ſo Gentlemen, whenever you make your falſe Attack upon our Commonwealth, we ſhall for the future, take it for the Signal to us, that your real Aim is at our Liberties and Properties, and ſhall apply both our Hands and Hearts to the ſecuring thoſe Jewels of ineſtimable Price. But to be ſerious, in our caſe the *Whigs* (as I ſaid in the beginning of our Diſcourſe) have given ſufficient Proof how little they deſign'd a Commonwealth, and how hearty they were to the Monarchy, in their ſtruggling ſo zealouſly to ſet the Crown on the King's Head.

Tory. We own you were for giving him the Name of a King: But after all, ſpeak ſincerely, Did you deſign to make him any more than a King of Clouts, a Duke of *Venice*, or a Statholder?

Whig. We deſign'd to make him as great a King as the Laws of *England* and our Ancient Conſtitution make any King: And if you pretend to make him more, take the Honour of it. But, Sir, upon this occaſion your Party were for making his preſent Majeſty leſs than either a Duke of *Venice*, or Statholder of *Holland*: For in propoſing to make him a *Regent*, you make him only a Journy-man-King, a Subject to King *James*, and accountable to him: But what the *Whigs* did to deſerve being ſuſpected

of

of a Commonwealth-Deſign, or of any Intention to leſſen the King's juſt Power, I am yet ignorant.

Tory. You are wilfully ſo then; for what could the meaning of the Convention be to ſettle the Revenue of the Crown from three Years to three Years, and to take away the Revenue of the *Chymney-Money*, one of the faireſt Flowers of the Crown, but leſſening the King's Power, and making his Government precarious?

Whig. The Chimney-Tax being grown a Grievance more ſenſible and more odious to the common People than any other; and the danger of being enſlav'd by giving ſuch great Revenues (for Life) to the two laſt Kings (by which they were enabled to maintain ſtanding Armies, and to ſubſiſt without Parliaments) was ſo freſh in the Memories of all thinking Engliſh-Men, and ſo apprehended by them, that the King's Friends thought it greatly for his Service to take away the Burden of the one, and the Apprehenſion of the other from the People, and by uſing different Methods to thoſe which had been follow'd in the former Reigns. To make his preſent Majeſty's Government more acceptable to all good Men, and that He might hereby reign in the Hearts of his Subjects, and be diſtinguiſhed by them: which Method, if purſued, would have given us a fairer Proſpect of our Affairs, than at preſent I am afraid we have. But this is not the Intereſt of wicked Miniſters, who when Kings take theſe Courſes, loſe their Dominion over them: their buſineſs is therefore to make Princes jealous of Encroachments of Parliaments, of Commonwealth-Deſigns amongſt the People, to repreſent the King's Intereſt ſeparate from the Intereſt of his Subjects; and then to ingratiate themſelves with him, and raiſe themſelves in his Opinion for their Parts and Abilities, they offer him Schemes of Politicks, to prevent Deſigns againſt him which were never thought on. Thus theſe *honeſt Jago's* firſt work a Prince up to Jealouſies and Hatred of his People, by falſe Suggeſtions; and then, as a Remedy againſt the Miſchiefs they have ſuppos'd, put him upon Deſigns ruinous to his Country and himſelf. But in the mean time, by appearing thus zealous for what they call the King's particular Intereſt and Glory, they inſinuate themſelves into ſome ſort of Princes Favour, they become Confidents of all Court-Intrigues, and grow great and rich; they diſpoſe all Offices,

and cruſh all who are not their Creatures; and at laſt come to awe and govern Kings themſelves. As Waiting-Women, who when they have debauched their Miſtreſſes by their Mercenary Sollicitations, and are become the Truſtees of their Frailty, they no longer taſte the Busk, nor bitter Reproofs for miſplacing of a Pin or Patch; but from Servants become Miſtreſſes, no Faults are then found with them, no Liberty denied them; even the Purſe, and the rich Petticoat is abſolutely at the Waiting-woman's Service, till at laſt they bring their Miſtreſſes to Infamy and Beggary. And ſo to return to the Miniſtry again; By this kind of Management they make their Maſters Kings of Clouts, neceſſitous, miſerable, and deſpis'd Princes. For Example; What made the late King *James a King of Clouts*, but thoſe Evil Counſellors, who put him upon Deſpotick and Diſpenſing Power, and propagating a Religion againſt Law? Who put him upon preferring Papiſts and *Iriſh*, to Proteſtants and *Engliſh?* Who adviſed his ſeizing Colleges and Charters, ſetting up High-Commiſſion-Courts, and making Parliaments and Laws a Noſe of Wax? Deny this if you can, Mr. *Tory*. Nay, as to your Idol-King, *Charles* the Second, (who notwithſtanding I believe much the worſe of the two Brothers, as ſinning againſt a better Underſtanding, and greater Obligations) was it not by theſe Counſels, and ſome of theſe Counſellors, that this Gentleman was made a *King of Clouts* too, from having all the Advantages at the time of his Reſtoration that ever King was bleſſed with? He was belov'd, delighted in, and courted by his Subjects; was reſpected Abroad, in Plenty and Power at Home; and could direct the Votes of a Parliament with a Nod (more than he could at laſt with his Exchequer): yet after all this in a few Years, by the Management of ſome of our preſent Evil Counſellors, who gave him ill Impreſſions of his Subjects, made him out of Love with Parliaments, and poiſon'd him with Lawleſs Power, and Love of Tricks, (the worſt of Poiſons to an Engliſh King) who, for their own filthy Intereſt, perſwaded him to ſell *Dunkirk*, break the *Triple League*, and enter into Meaſures with *France*, deſtructive to the Intereſt of this Nation, and of all *Europe*. By theſe Meaſures he at laſt became diſtaſteful to his Subjects, and was forſaken by a Parliament the moſt attach'd to him, and in love with his Perſon to a Fault; ſo that at laſt his

Neceſſities

Neceſſities drove him to become a Penſioner to *France* *. And if you will believe Mr. *Dreyden*, his Poet-Laureat, concluded his Reign in theſe miſerable Circumſtances of being [deſpis'd Abroad, and living on Tricks at Home.] And how theſe Gentlemens Father and Grandfather were made *Kings of Clouts* by the like Meaſures and the like Miniſters, by endeavouring at Lawleſs Power, and laying aſide Parliaments, *&c.* even the Hiſtories of thoſe Times publiſh'd by their own Authority, make it out plainly. And now, Mr. *Tory*, if you pleaſe we will examine a little into the few Examples we have of Princes who have practis'd a contrary Method to the before-mentioned one; we will enquire what Effects that ſort of Government hath produced; and we need go no farther, I think, than Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the immediate Predeceſſor to the Scotiſh Race, to fetch a Compariſon that will anſwer all Objections: And to give the Beauty of her Government its due Luſtre, let us ſet it off with the Difficulties that attended it and ſurrounded it in the beginning. Let us conſider her in the firſt place——of the weaker Sex,——a Woman——having no * rightful, tho a lawful Title;——The greateſt part of her Subjects of a contrary Religion to her——The Queen of *Scotland*, her next Neighbour, a Pretender to the Crown——*Ireland* in open Rebellion: The King of *Spain*, the greateſt Monarch of *Europe* at that time, her mortal Enemy, and Invader——Plots and Conſpiracies by the Papiſts againſt her at Home——And no Ally Abroad but the *Dutch*, then an Infant State, and ſupported by her.——And yet we ſee this poor, weak Woman in the midſt of all theſe Diſadvantages, Abſolute and Uncontroul'd at Home, Aweful and Glorious Abroad. This indeed ſeems very extraordinary; Let us enquire therefore what Methods were then practiſed in order to the producing ſuch wonderful Succeſs: Was it by corrupting Elections, or making Penſioners of Parliament-Men?——No, for her Courtiers pleaded (as well in Bar of being Parliament-Men as of being Sheriffs) that they were the Queen's Servants: So that by this we may reaſonably conclude there was nothing to be got by it in thoſe days.——Was it by employing her Siſter Queen *Mary*'s Miniſters, or courting her Enemies the Papiſts?——No,——For ſhe made *England* too hot for the one, and adorn'd almoſt

* A fine Character for an Engliſh King.

* A new Diſtinction our Stateſmen have lately found out.

almoſt every Gibbet in the Nation with her Juſtice upon the other.——— Was it by a ſtanding Army then? ——— Not that neither; for ſhe had no Army, nor no Guards, but her Gentlemen-Penſioners, and Yeomen of the Guard. I know you'll ſay, *How the Devil could ſhe bring Matters about as ſhe did, without uſing any of the admired Methods of our late Times?* —— In good ſooth, even by ſo homely and plain a Receipt, that you'll laugh at me when I tell it you —— Only——by loving, and courting the Love of her People, and not preferring *Scotiſh*, *French*, nor *Iriſh* Favourites to them (as in the late Reigns) ——— By being juſt to their Rights and Liberties, and devoted to their Intereſts——— By rewarding bountifully, and puniſhing ſeverely; ——— By encouraging honeſt Men, and —— browbeating State-Projectors and Trickſters; Knaves who perſwade Princes, that their Intereſt is ſeparate from the Intereſt of their People; ——— who counſel them to ſtretch Prerogative, or be over-fond of it; ——— who endeavour to breed unkind Thoughts in them to their beſt Friends and honeſteſt Subjects. This ſort of Gentlemen were out at Heels in her time. She, like a truly wiſe Woman, never ſeem'd fond of Deſpotick Dominion, nor of thoſe who flatter'd her with it, and put her upon it; for ſhe knew, that *Nolo Dominare* is the readieſt way to Power in *England*, and that it is ſooneſt *found of thoſe who ſeek it not.*———She —— wiſely thought, that to be the *Deliverer of Europe*, a greater Character than to be *Conqueror of it*; and that it would be more truly glorious to redeem one ſingle Town from Slavery, than to enſlave the whole World. Not like ſome of her Succeſſors, who (unworthy to be Soveraigns of the Noble Order the Kings of *England* wear) have choſen rather to be the *Dragon* than St. *George*, rather to deſtroy than to defend their Kingdoms.——— She never took Money from her Subjects, but ſhe gave them a Penny-worth for their Penny; and was ſeldom nice in according them ſuch Laws as they thought neceſſary to their Safety. For being well aſſur'd of her own juſt Intentions, ſhe never ſuſpected theirs. And thus at laſt ſhe got an abſolute Power even over the Laws, ——— as a good Wife gets a Power over her Husband, by loving and obeying him. And now I think I have ſufficiently exemplified what ſort of Miniſters and Methods they are which make Princes *Great and Glorious Monarchs*, and which make them *Kings of Clouts*. And whether this latter Character belongs to the

the *Whig* or *Tory*, I ſubmit to the Judgment of every impartial and reaſonable Man. But go on with your Charge.

Tory. It is objected againſt you *Whigs* alſo, that you do not love the King's Perſon.

Whig. What an Accuſation haſt thou blundered upon, thou very *Iriſh Tory*, thou eternal Trifler! Not love the King's Perſon? —'Tis a Thought fit only for a Chamber-Maid, when the Chaplain or Valet offer their Service to her. Kings are to be lov'd by Millions of their Subjects who never ſee their Perſons, (as Heaven is by Mankind) for their Providence and Care of their People; for the Influences they diſpenſe of their Juſtice and Mercy, and for the univerſal Good and Benefits which they ſcatter amongſt their Subjects. And in this Point their Thoughts and Deſigns ſhould be God-like; and by any other ſort of Lovers than theſe, any King will be as ſlenderly accompanied in his Misfortunes, as King *James* was to *Feverſham*. But beſides, this Accuſation is as falſe as it is fooliſh: pray, Sir, Who ſhew'd the moſt early Inclination to the Prince of *Orange*'s Perſon, the *Whigs* or the *Tories?* Who went into *Holland* firſt and begun the Project of the Prince of *Orange*'s coming over hither, *Whigs* or *Tories?* Who put the Crown upon his Head when he did come, *Whigs* or *Tories?* But to come nearer to the Point; Did not the *Whigs* ſhew a moſt apparent Partiality to the Prince of *Orange*'s Perſon in all the Points of the Settlement of the Crown, and particularly in giving it Him for Life, overlooking at the ſame time the P. of *D*'s Title, and the Lineal Succeſſion? Did they not to a Man ſtand by the King's Authority in the Debate concerning the P. of *D*'s Revenue, and leave the Diſpoſal of that Affair entirely to the King's Pleaſure? And now after four Years being us'd like the worſt of Enemies for all theſe Services; after being ſhut out from ſpeaking to the King, and almoſt from ſeeing him; after being diſcountenanced and frown'd upon, they have notwithſtanding (like the humerous Lieutenant) ever ſhewed a *grutching to his Grace* upon the leaſt Encouragement, or Invitation; and have at the opening of every Seſſions, for three Winters ſucceſſively, ſtill been ready to ſwallow the ſame Sweetnings, and to be coaks'd by a Clap on the Cheek, like an old City-Cuckold and Cully, and have been wrought into a Credulity, which nothing but

their

their Fondneſs and Dotage on the King's Perſon, could have effected.

Tory. But you will not deny that you have ſometimes expreſs'd your ſelves peeviſhly concerning the King.

Whig. And what Lover that hangs or drowns himſelf for his Miſtreſs, does not do the ſame? Railing in a Lover is an infallible Symptom that he is far gone in the Diſtemper: And no Woman ever yet reſented it when it came from that Cauſe. But our Court hath not learn'd to diſtinguiſh between thoſe who are angry with them, in concern for their Proſperity, and thoſe who ſeem pleas'd with them in hopes that they are in the way to Deſtruction. And to ſpeak plainly, Sir, the Partiality and Courtſhip which the King hath ſhewed to you *Tories*, in ſpight of all your apparent Hatred of his Perſon, as well as your profeſs'd Diſlike of his Title and Government, and the Averſion he hath ſhew'd to the *Whigs*, and Contempt of all their Advances and Addreſſes, hath begotten ugly Reaſonings in jealous and prying Men, as if there were a Biaſs towards the Principles of former Governments, rather than to thoſe this Government declar'd for, and ſet up upon: And even the wiſe and well meaning *Tories* begin once again to ſmell a T——d when you hold it ſo near their Noſes. But come, proceed.

Tory. You are likewiſe accus'd of being wedded to a Party, and by that means will reduce his Majeſty to be King of a Faction only of his Subjects.

Whig. This will appear much otherwiſe, if you will pleaſe to remember who brought in the E. of *N.* to be Secretary of State, and many others of that Party, and how few of your Faction were diſplac'd by the *Whigs* when they had Intereſt with the King. But this Charge will appear moſt foully true upon you, who by the baſeſt Ingratitude and Villany fell upon undermining thoſe who brought you into the Government the minute you were poſſeſs'd of the King's Ear. And yet you ſee, notwithſtanding all your barbarous Treatment of us, We have always come in chearfully to all Votes for Money, all Loans, and all other Meaſures to ſupport your Credit and the Common Intereſt, till both are fallen ſo low, that the Peoples Clamours were never ſo loud, nor their Diſſatisfactions never ſo great. You, like *Solomon*'s Harlot, are for tearing the Government aſunder, if you may not have the

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of it. We have ſhew'd on the other hand true Motherly-Tenderneſs, and conſented rather that it ſhould remain in your Poſſeſſion entirely, than be torn in pieces betwixt us, till it appear'd to all the World what a vile Step-Mother you have been, and how you have ſtarv'd and abus'd a Government worthy your moſt indulgent Tenderneſs and Care. And yet I am not for refuſing any *Tory* that gives Proof of his ſincere Repentance, and of a Love to his Country, but with all my Heart would give my ſhare of the fatted Calf to make the returning Prodigal welcome; tho I cannot but think it reaſonable, that you ſhould ſubmiſſively ſeek the Government, and not the Government ſubmiſſively ſeek you; that you ſhould own your Sin againſt Heaven, and againſt your Country, and give Security of another courſe of Life for the future, and not juſtify your Faults, and perſevere in them. If I could ſee amongſt any of you the leaſt Conſideration for the common Good and Benefit of Mankind, and the univerſal Welfare of your Fellow-Creatures, to which you are bound by the Law of God, and the Law of Nature, and to which all the Heathens who were not barbarous, paid a moſt profound Reverence and Obedience, and preferr'd to all private Intereſt, to Wives, Children, Eſtate, nay to Life it ſelf. If I can find any amongſt you a Lover of his Country, a ſincere Supporter of the Laws, Liberties and Intereſt of the Engliſh Nation, I am as much his Servant, tho he be a *Not——m*, a *Ca——n*, or a *R——r*, as if he were a *Shr——y*, a *Ru——ll*, a *Som——rs*, or a *Tr——d*. But inſtead of ſhewing any Regard to the Intereſt of the Nation, any Bowels for your Country, any Self-denial in point of private Intereſt: Have you not ſold your Country, and their Birth-rights upon all occaſions (like *Eſau*) for a Meſs of Pottage? Have not ſome of you put off Human Nature, Human Reaſon, and all common Honeſty, ſo far, as to conſpire to bring in a *French* Power, to gratify your private and perſonal Piques? To bring in *Popery* and *Slavery* to rule over you, becauſe you cannot Tyrannically rule over your Fellow-Subjects? Remember what the *Presbyterians* got by being ſo active in reſtoring the two late Popiſh Kings, hoping to be reveng'd thereby upon the *Independents*, and other Diſſenters: Were they not mingled in the ſame Perſecution with the others, nay, more oppreſs'd and mark'd out for Wrath, as being more numerous

and more conſiderable than any other Sect? Juſt ſo muſt the *Church* and their Proſelytes expect to fare from the Hands of their *Popiſh* Friends (whoſe Cauſe they are ſo zealouſly propagating;) they may admit them to the Honour of being the *Cat's-foot*, but not a bit of the *Cheſnut*: No *Whig*, no *Fanatick*, but will then have as fair Quarter (at leaſt) from King *Lewis*, as you, (for King *James* I take to be only a Cypher, and Property to your *French* Lord and Maſter, who when he hath finiſhed his Work, will finiſh his Life too.) And do you *Jure Divino*, you truly Loyal Gentlemen, think that you will find more Favour then for being more attach'd to King *James*'s Intereſt? No, be aſſured the moſt inveterate Enemies of King *James* will meet with as favourable a Treatment at leaſt as you, who have profeſſed your ſelves ſo violently enamour'd of King *James*'s Perſon, and of the right Line. Reflect a little upon the King of *France*'s Conduct at the time of the late Revolution: He knew long before the Prince of *Orange*'s deſign of making a Deſcent into *England*, and could have prevented it a thouſand ways: but inſtead of that, he writes to *Barillion*, then his Ambaſſador in *England*, to know in what Condition King *James* was to oppoſe the Prince's Forces: He being a Foreigner, and judging only by outward Appearances, repreſents the Army of King *James* ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt what Force the Prince of *Orange* could bring: whereupon the *French* King believing that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* would by this means weaken and deſtroy one another, and leave a fair Game for him the next Year againſt the Emperor and *Flanders*; and to take away all Apprehenſion from the *Dutch* of their needing an Army for their own Defence, and to give all Encouragement to their Deſign upon *England*, he draws all his Troops from the ſide of *Flanders*, and falls upon *Philipsburg*; which Army if he had marched towards the *Spaniſh* Frontiers in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* durſt not have tranſported a Man; and the whole Deſign of the Deſcent had been at an end. From hence it is plain what Friendſhip the *French* King had for his *dear Brother* King *James*, and what you may expect from this Man of Honour and good Nature, when you have ſerv'd his Turn. Come, grow wiſe and honeſt, and let us not divide under this or that Miniſtry, under this or that Faction or Party, but let us all unite againſt the common Enemy; let us make the

Publick

Publick Intereſt, and the Support of the Government as it is eſtabliſhed by Law, our chief and only Aim; and for all Projectors and Conſpirators, whether for a *Commonwealth*, a *French Tyranny*, or any other *Tyranny*, I wiſh they were all hang'd on the ſame Tree, the firſt for Fools, the others for Miſcreants and Villains: And thus much, and no more am I for being wedded to a Party.

Tory. I own you have told us a fair Tale; but nothing is proved, nothing appears undeniable, but your Venom and Enmity againſt the Church, and her Friends.

Whig. If you mean the French Story needs proving, the Diſgrace of *Barrillon* when he return'd to *Verſaille* upon the account of miſtaking and miſrepreſenting the Engliſh Affairs, is notorious: But beſides, the Story proves it ſelf more than a thouſand Witneſſes; and for the reſt, I have related nothing but what every Engliſh-man is knowing of. And as for what you charge me with in relation to the *Church*, I ſee little Reaſon for it; unleſs, as St. *Paul* ſays, you account me your Enemy becauſe I tell you the Truth. For my part I reverence the *Church of England* as much as any Man: But I am not for ſacrificing the Laws and Liberties of the Publick, nay, the very Nation it ſelf, to a Foreign Conqueſt, for the ſound of a Word. I have a due Reſpect for the Prieſthood too, and am their *Servant*, but never can ſubmit to be their *Slave:* I honour their Coat, but cannot be content to ſtrip my ſelf of mine, in reſpect to it. A moderate Reſpect is decent, and our Duty; more I take to be Superſtition at leaſt, if not Idolatry; and to worſhip a Wooden Prieſt, appears to me as bad as worſhipping a Wooden God.

Tory. Now you are running into your uſual Violence and Heat; and let me tell you as a Friend, it does you no good neither with the Church, nor Court, which latter hath a very low Opinion of thoſe Men who expreſs too much Warmth in what they ſay or do.

Whig. And therefore their Affairs have ſucceeded accordingly. Let the Nation be Judges, Whether, if Men of Warmth had been put in Office by our Miniſters, the Taxes would not have been more juſtly and carefully collected, than they have been by thoſe Lukewarm Managers they have employ'd; who, like the unjuſt Steward, when the King's Due was *an hundred*, bid their Neighbours write down *fifty?* Or, do you think the Deputy-Lieutenants of *Surry* would have abſconded laſt Year, when they were ordered to raiſe the

Militia upon King *James*'s coming down to *Normandy*, if they had been Men of Warmth to the Government? Or, that King *James*'s Friends would dare to profeſs their Opinions, and carry on their Deſigns ſo publickly? That they would preſume to inſult the Government in every Coffee-houſe; nay, in the *Mall* and *Whitehall* it ſelf? That they would dare to threaten you to your Teeth as they do, with Invaſions, Deſcents and Rebellions, or would venture to correſpond with *France*, and go forward and backward every day to King *James*; nay, raiſe Regiments of Horſe and Foot under your Noſes for a Rebellion, if Men of Warmth and Zeal were in the Government? But it is from hence that all theſe Inſolencies take their Riſe, that the Enemies of the Government are come from hating it, to deſpiſe it; that its Friends are diſcouraged to appear for it, and that thoſe Officers and Souldiers who in King *Charles*'s time would have broken the Heads of thoſe whom they heard reflect upon the King's Perſon or Government, will in this Reign hear both treated very odly; not that they want an Affection to either, but out of a fear to offend by ſhewing themſelves *Men of Warmth*, and *Party-men*, thoſe Characters being ſo abominable to our Court.

Tory. You *Whigs* have been the occaſion of all this too: for you were ſo irreconcileable to ſome Miniſters of State at the beginning of the Revolution, becauſe they had made a few Slips in the laſt Reigns; or perhaps becauſe they had hang'd ſome of your Friends, a Father, or Brother, or ſo; that you forc'd them to take in ſome Perſons which they themſelves thought not very proper for this Government: But if you will run a Man down, he will ſupport himſelf at any rate; for Men are but Men: And withal I believe they hop'd that a Place would buy any Party out of their Principles, and that all who they bought into the Government, would be obliged by that means to be for the Government.

Whig. This is very far fetch'd, Mr. *Tory*, tho it is not the firſt time I have heard it. But as to the firſt part of this Paragraph, the Matter of Fact is falſe: The *Whigs* were willing to forget all paſt Miſcarriages, and be reconciled to any Miniſter that could be honeſt, as I ſhew'd you before. But theſe Gentlemen quickly convinc'd all the World, that they were grown ſo old and ſtiff in their former Miſchiefs, that they were capable of no other Bend or Impreſſion, but what they had taken in the laſt Reigns.

And

And it was plain to every Man that had Eyes, that they were no ſooner in the Miniſtry, but they fell into their old Schemes, which no honeſt Man could come into; and which I am afraid the Court hath not found the good Effects from, which theſe *Evil Counſellors* promis'd. It's true, by giving Places to all that were ſupple, and complying, you have brought in the Knaves of all Parties: But ſince that which brings them into the Service of the Government, is their own Intereſt, and not that of the Government; it will be reaſonable for our Rulers to expect, that the whole Deſign of ſuch Men, will be rather how to ſerve themſelves of the Government, than how to ſerve it. To conclude, Sir, notwithſtanding all you have ſaid in Excuſe of your Miniſters and their Methods, I cannot but remain in my firſt Opinion, That *the Men of eaſy Phlegme, born on the Confines of Indifference*, as Sir *Samuel Tuke* in *F—ch-like Fuſtian* deſcribes our Luke-warm Neutrals, are not fit Men to be employ'd in our Government, as the Caſe ſtands at preſent, but will prove as deſtructive to it as downright *Jacobites*.

Tory. All this is taking things for granted which we deny; and accuſing Men of what you do not prove; and if it were ſo, you confeſs there are Knaves of your Party too.

Whig. The Truth of what I ſay in relation to your Party, is ſo notorious to all the World, that it would be as impertinent to go about proving it, as to prove there is a Sun; even you your ſelves have confeſs'd, and pretended to repent of your Principles and Practices in King *James*'s Time, tho you are now return'd to your Vomit. And as to what you ſay of our having Knaves amongſt us, I muſt confeſs it too true; and am as much afflicted as you can be, that any *Whig* ſhould invade your undoubted and ſole Right of being Knaves, and ſelling and betraying their Fellow-Subjects: But yet we hope we may claim a Diſtinction to be made, betwixt our Party, who not only profeſs, but have maintain'd to the Death, the Religion, Rights and Liberties of their Country; and yours, who in King *Charles*'s and beginning of King *James*'s Reign gave up all theſe things; and who, tho you are employ'd in, and ſworn to the preſent Government, make publick Rejoicings at the Slaughter of our Armies, and Deſtruction of our Fleets. If the *Whigs* have the Misfortune of ſome Knaves profeſſing themſelves of their Party: Our Saviour himſelf had a *Judas* amongſt his Twelve, and yet that did not at all diſcredit

the Doctrine and Principles of the Apoſtles; nor does our having ſome Knaves among us, make it as reaſonable and equal to adhere to your Party, that are the profeſſed Enemies of their King and Country, as to depend on thoſe who have generally in all Times, and on all Occaſions declar'd their Affection to their Country, Love of its Laws and Religion, and have ſince the Revolution ſhewed their Zeal for the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

Tory. Juſt now you ſeem'd to agree to a Comprehenſion, and were for welcoming the Prodigals as you call'd them; now you are for excluding them again.

Whig. No, I am for receiving any *Tory*, as I told you, that ſeeks the Government; but I would not have the Government ſeek them; nor would I have them entruſted in this critical time without ſome Marks of their Repentance and Regeneracy; and by our Eaſineſs give them the opportunity of ſelling us to the *French* King, or King *James*, as I fear ſome of them do at this time.

Tory. All that's Malice and Stuff, and not reaſonably to be apprehended: And I tell you once more, it is the Opinion of ſome wiſe Men, that the King cannot follow a more fatal Counſel than to confine himſelf to any one Party of his Subjects.

Whig. Then your Patrons have been adviſing him fatally theſe four Years; for they have been perſwading the King to throw himſelf entirely into your Hands.

Tory. They never refus'd to receive any *Whig*, that would comply, and come under their Protection; but if the King will chooſe any one Party, I think we of the *Church* are the moſt numerous and conſiderable, and are fitteſt as ſuch to be employ'd by him.

Whig. Now you are retired into your Sanctuary, *the Church*, you think you are ſafe, and it is indeed dangerous purſuing you: But however I'll venture it; and ſince you force me, I muſt repeat again ſome of thoſe Arguments I have given you already, why you are not fit to be truſted by this Government. Firſt, you *Tories* do not believe your ſelves King *William*'s Subjects, and therefore are very unfit to be employ'd by him as his Servants. Secondly, It cools the Affections of the People, to ſee thoſe employ'd in Places of higheſt Truſt, who they have a Demonſtration are not for the Government even when they are in it. And by this Method it is plain the King (according to the Fable) loſes his *Shoulder*

of

of Mutton, by catching at the *Shadow*; and by aiming at both Parties, he hath neither.

Tory. I confeſs I am for the King's relying on one Party as much as you are (tho not yours;) but however, there are great and wiſe Men, as I told you, of another Opinion; and I have heard it ask'd, Why this method of uniting all Parties ſhould not have as good an Effect here as in *Holland*, for there the Prince of *Orange* reconcil'd all to the common Intereſt?

Whig. I'll tell you why; Firſt, it appears all Parties there ſincerely intended the good of the Government; which, it is too plain, is not your caſe. Secondly, Neither Party had any other Head to repair to, as you *Tories* have; the Prince of *Orange* had no pretending Rival to the Right of Statholder: But the King hath here a Rival, a Father-in-Law, who pretends a Right to the Crown, who is ſupported by the greateſt Power that ever was known in *Europe*, ſo as to make the Event appear doubtful, even to thoſe who are moſt zealous for this Government: And by this means the Friends of King *James* are encouraged to be firm to his Intereſts, and Neutrals; nay, and even his fearful Enemies are frighted from acting with a Zeal againſt him. Is this a time then to be trying Experiments, to put our ſelves and Affairs into the Hands of Men bred up, and principled againſt the Deſign of this Government? Is this a time to reconcile our ſelves to our Enemies, and to take Men out of Plots, and place them in our Cabinet? No ſure, with my Lord *N*———'s leave, *this is not the time.* In this time of danger, thoſe who have been the antient and declar'd Enemies of King *James*, and who have moſt reaſon to expect being hang'd if he return, are moſt fit for the King to rely on. But when theſe Difficulties are maſter'd, as much Comprehenſion as you pleaſe. In the mean time your Education in *Toryiſm*, your Obligations to King *James*, and, which is more than both, your preſent Hopes from him, will make you ſo averſe to this Government, that no Favour, no Courtſhip can engage you heartily in its Intereſts; and it is Nonſenſe to expect you ſhould fight for a Title you have always declar'd to diſapprove of.

Tory. You are always harping upon that String: But ſuppoſing we do not approve of the making him King, yet we know how to obey Kings when they are made: But you, after you have made a King, are uſing him like your Creature; clipping his Power, and finding

finding fault with his Conduct. For my part, *if I were a King, I would ſooner forgive a Man that diſlik'd my Title, than one who diſlik'd my Conduct.*

Whig. Why, then Mr. *Tory*, you would be none of the wiſeſt Princes: For he who finds fault with your Conduct, may be your Friend; but he who finds fault with your Title, muſt be your Enemy, or elſe a Knave, and acts againſt his Conſcience. But how does this Article appear of the *Whigs* being diſſatisfied with the King's Conduct in any Point, but in his employing you, and the Conſequences of it? Is it from giving chearfully whatever Sums were demanded in Parliament? Is it being ready to advance Money upon the moſt remote Funds, in offering their Perſons to the Publick Service in all times of Danger, notwithſtanding all Browbeatings, and Diſcouragements; by breaking all Meaſures with King *James* and his Party, that they diſcover their Diſlikes, and Diſſatisfactions to the King, or his Government? But if they diſapprove that the Friends of King *James* ſhould be King *William*'s Miniſters, that thoſe ſhould be plac'd in all Offices who hate him and betray him, Will he have Reaſon to take their Diſlike of this part of his Conduct ſo very unkindly from them, as to forgive it leſs than your renouncing his Right and Title to the Crown? But you *Tories* have got a Trick of bringing Kings into your Quarrels, (as the Prieſts do God Almighty into theirs) and by placing them before you, hope to make your ſelves ſafe, not caring how much you expoſe them; and you impudently place your own Crimes unfairly upon others: and whilſt you your ſelves are daily Libelling and Lampooning the King's Perſon and Conduct moſt maliciouſly, and triumphing in all his Misfortunes ingratefully, (witneſs the publick Inſolencies at the *Bath*, and *Windſor*, upon the late Defeat in *Flanders*) you, according to your wonted Modeſty, charge the *Whigs* with your own Faults; and avoid being Criminals, by turning Accuſers.

Tory. I know not what ſome hot-headed drunken Men may have ſaid and done at the *Bath*, or elſewhere; but this I know, that a whole Party ought not to ſhare the Miſcarriages of ſome few particular Men.

Whig. You are in the right if that were the caſe; but it is undeniable, that this Inſolence is univerſal, and even amongſt thoſe of you employ'd and paid by the Government.

Tory.

Tory. This is a ſore place I find you are ever complaining of. But why are you angry with us for being in Places? Did we ſeek them? Were we not ſought, courted, intreated to accept of Employments? And ſince you provoke me, I'll tell you the Reaſon; the King found none of you *Whigs* capable of, or fit for Buſineſs; he ſaw you too of a ſoure, moroſe Temper, jealous of Prerogative, affecting Popularity, Childiſhly fond of Trifles, and tenacious of Lawleſs Liberty; whilſt we are frank, and eaſy in all theſe Matters, and know the Reſpect that is due to Crown'd Heads.

Whig. That is, when they are rightful!

Tory. Come, you will make no Prince have the worſe Opinion of us for that; *The Right Line*, *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Non-reſiſtance*, *Prerogative*, &c. will always ſound well in every King's Ear. And when he conſiders us Enemies to his Title only out of a Principle of Loyalty, he will have reaſon rather to accuſe his own Misfortune, than our Vertue: we plainly and honeſtly told him our Principles, that we believ'd him a King *de facto* only; and our Honour in this Point made him rely upon our Honour in others.

Whig. Let us examine then how honourably, how gratefully you have behav'd your ſelves to a King who hath relied on you, and oblig'd you ſo extreamly. We will paſs by thoſe who refuſe to ſwear Allegiance to him upon the above-mentioned honourable Pretences, and only mention thoſe who have accepted Employments of Profit and Truſt. Have not even thoſe in the Government both in *England* and *Scotland*, been plotting the Dethroning this King, who hath truſted them ſo generouſly, and courted them ſo kindly? Particularly, did not one of your Party at the beginning of this Government, give notice to the King's Enemies of Warrants againſt them, in order to their making their Eſcape, and was diſcharg'd his Employment upon it? Did not a Brother of a certain Secretary, give out Blank Paſſes under the Hand and Seal of that Secretrary, by which a Correſpondence was carried on betwixt this Place and *France* ſecurely? And was not this Gentleman upon this account laid aſide gently and privately, and this Matter huddled up for fear of any Reflection upon our Monarchical Favourites, and put upon the Publick as Paſſes forg'd (as indeed they were by our own Officers) and a Proclamation put out with Rewards to the Diſcoverer, when we knew the whole Matter before-hand? Have not ſome Women

but without a pardon for Life

lately

lately been taken going to *France* (with Letters to King *James*) with a Scotiſh Secretrary's Paſs, under his Hand and Seal? Was not an Officer of the Poſt-Office lately found correſponding with *France*, and without any other Puniſhment for his Capital Crime, laid aſide gently and privately? The Story of Capt. *John Layton*, late Commander of the St. *Albans*, and which hath been told in the Houſe of Commons, will ſhew you how faithfully you *Tories* ſerve the Government, and how fit you are to be truſted. Captain *Layton* being ordered to Cruiſe twenty Leagues off *Uſhant*, by a Storm of Wind was driven to *Cape Clear*, where he met a French Privateer, and took her: the Captain of the Privateer ask'd *Layton* the Name of his Ship, which he told him; upon this the Privateer looking into his Pocket-Book, ask'd *Layton* how he came there; for by his Intelligence the Station of the St. *Albans* was to be twenty Leagues from *Uſhant*, and no further. And the like Story is told of a Tranſport-Ship going to *France* with Priſoners, ſome few Months ago, who meeting with divers Privateers, ask'd them how they durſt be ſo bold as Cruiſe there, when four Engliſh Men of War were within ſix Leagues of them? they reply'd, they knew the Station of thoſe Engliſh, and that they could not come where they were a cruiſing but by breaking their Orders. But the Relation of the Sailer who was taken, and for ſome time ſerv'd aboard an Iriſh Privateer, is yet more remarkable, for he depoſeth, That they told him (three Months before the *Streights* Fleet ſailed from *Spithead*) both the time when they were to ſail, the number of their Convoy, and likewiſe that the Main Fleet was to go no further than beyond *Uſhant*. Now how they could come by this Intelligence, but from Officers imploy'd by and ſworn to the Government, I know not; and if ſo, how faithfully and honourably you *Tories* ſerve Thoſe who truſt you, and how fit you are to be employ'd in this critical Time, I appeal to all the World.

Tory. Theſe are malicious Stories; and if ſtrictly enquired into, will prove falſe I dare ſay.

Whig. Whenever there is a Committee of indifferent Men ordered to take the Examination, I am inform'd all this will be proved, and much more; and how reaſonable it is to expect this and any other Treachery from you, will appear probable to thoſe who ſee you in all Offices daily and publickly drinking King *James*'s Health: who ſee one Clerk going to a non-ſwearing Doctor,

to

to take Advice, whether he may ſerve the Government as a writing Clerk without Damnation to his Soul? Yes, replies the Doctor, for thereby you keep out an ill Man, and may ſerve your rightful King upon occaſion. To ſee another Clerk valuing himſelf to his Companions, that his Place, thank God, does not oblige him to take the Oaths to the Government. To ſee Officers of the greateſt Truſt in the Admiralty in Clubs twice a Week with Mr. *P——ps*, Mr. *Ew——rs*, and other known *Jacobites*, and from Saturday to Monday conſtantly living with them Night and Day.

Tory. I know who you mean, one of them is a Nephew to one of the Gentlemen, and expects 40000 *l.* from him; and would you have him renounce ſuch an Expectance in Conſideration of your Place?

Whig. No, but I would have the Government renounce ſuch an Officer, that had ſuch an Expectation from ſuch an Unkle.

Tory. But where could you get ſuch able Officers if theſe were diſcharged?

Whig. As the caſe ſtands, one honeſt Man will be of more Service than ten ſuch able Men; the Forms of Buſineſs will be quickly learned; and want of Experience will be leſs fatal to us, than want of Fidelity. Moſt of the under-Places require a very indifferent Underſtanding, and little Experience to carry the Buſineſs on: And if you aſcend to the Miniſtry, I cannot help thinking my Lord *Sh——y*, or Sir *J. Tr——d* as able Secretaries as the E. of *N.* and Mr. *R——ll* as able an Admiral as Mr. *K.* &c. What is it your able Men have done for us, pray, this four Years? Was ever any Government in ſo promiſing a Condition, as ours was at the time of the Revolution? Were we not the Hopes of all our Allies, and the Terror of our Enemies? And is not the caſe alter'd with us? I fear it is: To be plain, a Miniſtry from *Wapping* could not have made worſe work on't than yours have done. Miniſters who know not ſo much as what Money their Affairs will require, but ask the Parliament too little, and manage it ſo as to make it leſs. That want Intelligence ſo much, that Matters of the greateſt Conſequence have been publick in every Coffee-houſe three days before it comes to the Secretary's Office; particularly the loſs of our Merchants Fleet, and beating our Army in *Flanders:* As if (as one ſaid) Secretaries, like Cuckolds, were to know their Diſhonour and Misfortunes laſt.

Then the Return of our Fleets for want of Proviſions, laying out Money in falſe Expeditions, and wanting it thereby in true Neceſſities; imperfect Orders, from whence proceeds imperfect Execution; and beſides they prove an Excuſe to Officers even in the moſt fatal Miſcarriages: with a thouſand more Miſmanagements and Treacheries from the top to the bottom of the Miniſtry, too tedious to relate here.

Tory. And do you think the Government would be better ſerv'd at this time by Novices, and Strangers to Buſineſs?

Whig. I have anſwer'd you that before; I think it would be much better ſerv'd by ignorant Friends, than underſtanding Enemies: Tho I am far (at the ſame time) from granting you that Point, for I am ſure there are more Men of Senſe and Capacity found amongſt the *Whigs*, than amongſt the *Tories*: and that Experience is not of ſuch mighty Conſequence as you would infer, will appear, if you will pleaſe to call to mind the Men employ'd in Publick Affairs by *Cromwel*: Was ever Government better ſerv'd than his? and yet he choſe Men of the moſt private Condition, and one would have thought moſt unqualified for Publick Buſineſs, Taylors, Draymen, broken Shop-keepers, raw Scholars, and ſome few of the midling Gentry. But being careful to chooſe Men principled againſt the Government of King *Charles*, and zealous for the Intereſt of the Government then on foot; they did Wonders, ſupported their Friends, and were aweful to their Enemies; and this with all the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, both *Church of England* and *Presbyterian*, in perpetual Combinations and Conſpiracies againſt them at home, and a War in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Holland*, and *Spain* too, upon their Hands. And you have an Inſtance of it in this Government, in the Perſon of one of your Secretaries of *Scotland*, who (tho bred in a very private way) hath ſhewed himſelf a moſt ſucceſsful Stateſman, and of great Conſequence to the Welfare of the King's Affairs in that Country, and this meerly from his incorruptible Honeſty, Zeal and Integrity to the preſent Government, without Experience, or great Inſight into Buſineſs.

Tory. I muſt grant there is ſomething in what you ſay, Union and Integrity will do great Matters: But you *Whigs* cannot pretend to this, for you are not two of you in the ſame Mind; you have no Government, no Diſcipline in your Party, no Firmneſs to one another, or to any Point: Your great *P. Fo——y* turns

Cadet,

Cadet, and carries Arms under the General of the *West-Saxons*; the two *Har——ys*, Father and Son, are Engineers under the late Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and bomb any Bill, which he hath once reſolv'd to reduce to Aſhes, tho it were for Recognition, or any thing elſe that is moſt neceſſary to our Security: Your *Jack S.* and *Jack G.* whenever they touch Penny, will touch Pot too, and drink all in the Bowl, be it never ſo deep. And beſides this, you are always laughing, deſpiſing, or railing at one another; ſome of you are too wiſe, ſome of you too witty, and ſome of you too honeſt for the reſt; jealous and envious of one anothers Favour and Preferment; every Man thinking himſelf fitteſt to be at the Head of Affairs, and hating, and reflecting upon thoſe who are ſo, and deſpiſing to be govern'd or directed by them. And at the ſame time thoſe who are at the Top, diſdaining to look down upon thoſe below them, tho they were the Steps by which they did aſcend; they grow ſtately to their Friends, and unmindful of their Fortunes, impatient of Addreſſes, hard of Acceſs, huddling into little Cabals, where they are wiſe and witty among themſelves: whilſt we *Tories* on the contrary, have but one Heart, one Voice, one Purſe and one Intereſt; excuſe and juſtify one anothers Faults, prefer the meaneſt Fool or Knave of our Party; and in return the Underlings are every Man in a perfect Obedience to his Superior, to vote, rail, write or talk according to Direction, and not otherwiſe.

Whig. I own there is too much Truth in what you ſay, and you ſpeak Truth ſo ſeldom, that we ought to allow it you when you do: But I hope we have ſeen the Error of our Diſunion, and ſhall amend it for the future: And however we may have had Perſonal Differences, and likewiſe may have been too much divided, and too obſtinate in ſome Opinions, yet ſtill in all Times, and under all Diſcouragements, we have all agreed to the ſame end, (*viz.*) The Publick Good of our Country, and the Support of its Laws and Liberties; and in this preſent Reign have been and are unanimous againſt King *James* and his Intereſt, and have at all times with one Conſent own'd his preſent Majeſty, Rightful and Lawful, which I take to be the *Shibboleth*, to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are alone fit to ſerve this Government. And till there be an Act of Recognition in Force, I will be bold to ſay all the other Steps of our ableſt and honeſteſt Stateſmen, will be upon Boggy Ground: nor can any Man be reaſonably employ'd

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in any Office who hath not taken this Teſt; for whoever thinks King *William* not Rightful, muſt think King *James* is ſo; and the ſame Conſcience which leads them to believe him Rightful, will incline them to aſſiſt that Right when they have opportunity: (but to return to the Point of your Charge) we muſt confeſs likewiſe that we have not been ſo much under the Government of our Superiours as you are, nor ſo induſtrious in ſupporting each others private and particular Intereſts. But to the firſt I might anſwer, That Fools and Beggars are more eaſily led by the Noſe than Men of Senſe and Eſtates: And as to the latter, I muſt put you in mind, that the Societies of *Ignatius* and of *Newgate*, are both of them as much united as you, in univerſal Miſchief; for Roguery makes a ſtronger Glew and Cement, than Vertue, becauſe there are more Men capable of the former than of the latter. And tho it were to be wiſh'd, that the *Whigs* were more friendly, and had more Concern for the Support of one another in all their honeſt Pretences; yet God forbid there ſhould ever be ſuch a Friendſhip and Partiality amongſt them, as to condemn and diſgrace thoſe who gain Victories, becauſe they are not of their Party, and to ſupport and defend thoſe who have loſt the Ships, Trade and Honour of the Nation, becauſe they are their Creatures. But on the other ſide, where it is without offence to Juſtice, and the Publick Intereſt, all Unanimity and Friendſhip is to be admir'd, prais'd, and pray'd for; and I hope you will find it amongſt us for the future, till it becomes the Subject of your Envy, inſtead of being an Occaſion of Reproach. To put an end to this Argument; 'Tis plain with all your Friendſhips, and Union, and other Politicks, you have brought the Nation, and all its Allies, to the loweſt Condition both in Power and Reputation. You have almoſt put it out of the Skill of any Conduct to recover us; and whoever now takes the Adminiſtration of Affairs upon them, will be apply'd to the Government, like Pigeons to the Feet of dying Men. But however, to thoſe who are true Lovers of their Country, no Time ſeems too late to attempt its Relief, no Difficulty ſo great as to diſcourage them from endeavouring it; and tho as the Caſe ſtands, it is more than probable, we *may* miſcarry under the beſt Conduct, yet it is undeniable we *muſt* miſcarry under yours. And ſo I take my Leave.

FINIS.